

"HICKEU"

**THE JEWISH
COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS
IN PALESTINE**

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FOREWORD

This pamphlet was originally written without any thought or intention of publication. My choice of the communal settlements in Palestine as the subject of a paper sprang both from my interest in the broad question of competition and cooperation, primarily in its sociological aspects and implications, and from my interest in the Zionist movement and its achievements in Palestine. Inasmuch as these two interests coincided, they naturally led to the study of the communal settlements in Palestine, whose success or failure must be of the greatest significance in regard to both the problem of cooperation and the future of the Zionist movement.

Although much has been written (chiefly by Zionists) on the subject of the communal settlements in Palestine, the material is, unfortunately, widely scattered and consists predominantly of pamphlets and short articles in periodicals. For this reason, and also because most of the material is not readily available to the general public, this paper is published, in the hope that it will prove valuable as a concise introductory survey of this vital aspect of Palestinian life. In the back of this booklet the reader will find a bibliography, which is far from complete but which was selected with a consideration of the importance as well as the availability of the items.

It cannot be sufficiently stressed that, since this study is not the result of direct observation, its conclusions, especially those reached in the last chapter, are subject to reasonable question. The paper must also lack that deep insight which can be attained only through direct observation. Finally, the reader must remember that it was often not possible to treat all subjects according to their importance and that relatively more space had to be devoted to those aspects of the communal settlements concerning which the largest quantity of objective material was available. Nevertheless, until such time as comprehensive studies of the settlements are undertaken by sociologists, psychologists and economists in Palestine and made available to the American public, this pamphlet may be useful to both Zionists and non-Zionists, Jews and Gentiles, precisely because it is a survey and represents compilation. Its purpose will be achieved if it stimulates further interest in the important experiment in Palestine and particularly if it helps to encourage much-needed scientific study of all aspects of the communal settlements.

The author hereby wishes to express her appreciation of the kind assistance given to her by the staff of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York City.

Chicago, November 1945.

A. E. H.

Contents

CHAPTER I	3
A Brief Survey of Jewish Colonization in Palestine	
CHAPTER II	10
The Kibbutz as a Social Unit	
CHAPTER III	21
The Kibbutz as an Economic Unit	
CHAPTER IV	31
Conclusion: The Success of the Kibbutz	
GLOSSARY	35
NOTES	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY	38

I. A Brief Survey of Jewish Colonization in Palestine

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERSTAND Jewish colonization of Palestine without realizing that the Jewish people have never lost their attachment to the country of their origin. For almost two thousand years of exile, Jews have prayed daily for the re-establishment of Palestine, and their religious faith is permeated with the hope for a Messianic resurrection of the Jewish people.

Ever since the Middle Ages, elderly pious Jews have gone to Palestine to study the Law and to be buried in the holy soil. These pilgrims in Palestine depended for their livelihood upon *Halukka*, a system of contributions by the Jewish communities in Europe. Agriculture as a means of self-support was unknown to them.

Not until 1870 was the first decisive attempt made towards the introduction of agriculture among the Jews in Palestine. In that year the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* of Paris founded the Agricultural School of Mikve Yisrael, which is today still one of Palestine's best agricultural training centers. At first, however, many of its graduates could not establish themselves as farmers because of a lack of funds.

The terrible pogroms in Russia in 1881 renewed the Jews' active interest in Palestine and marked the beginning of agricultural colonization. A small group of Russian university students and a few artisans organized the movement of *Bilu* (an abbreviation of the Hebrew biblical verse: "House of Jacob, come, let us go!") and decided to become farmers in Palestine in the hope of paving the way for a large Jewish immigration. They were the first Zionists envisaging the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine who were determined that the country should be built up with their own labor. They took an oath only to work cooperatively. To assist the *Bilu* movement, the Association of Friends of Zion (*Hovevei Zion*) was founded in Russia.

The *Biluim* arrived in Palestine in 1882, simultaneously with Jewish immigrants from Rumania. These young idealists, as the very first pioneers, faced tremendous obstacles. They laid the foundation of the communities of Petach Tikva, Rishon le Zion, Zichron Yaakov, and Rosh Pina, but because of disease, inexperience in farming, and a lack of funds, they had to struggle desperately for survival. Their heroic efforts would have been in vain if Baron Edmund de Rothschild of Paris had not come to their aid by sending money and agricultural experts to the colonies. He substituted vine-growing for grain-culture as the basis of the farming system.

The colonies made very little economic progress under the Rothschild administration. The philanthropic system thwarted the initiative

and the creative joy of the settlers, who were expected to carry out the orders of their benefactor. The weakness of the one-crop system of cultivation also soon became evident, for the wine colonies' well-being depended on the artificially inflated prices paid to them by Rothschild. Many young settlers became dissatisfied and lost enthusiasm for their work because the supervisors, who were assimilated French Jews, tried to instill the higher French culture into them. Consequently, much cheap Arab labor was hired to work in the vineyards.

In 1899 Baron de Rothschild gave over the management of his colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA). This institution, founded by Baron de Hirsch, had up to that time concentrated its colonization work in Argentina. Later a special corporation, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (PICA), was formed which founded new colonies in Lower Galilee. A better system of management was introduced. Corn was now made the main crop, and thus the error of a mono-system of cultivation was repeated. The inspector-settler relationship did not improve.

IN 1903 ANOTHER BRUTAL POGROM in Russia resulted in a huge wave of migration to Palestine. These immigrants belonged largely to the middle-class, and they were greatly influenced by the revolutionary social ideals then held by the Russian intelligentsia. Spiritually many of them were very close to the *Biluim*, whose work they continued successfully. For them, the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine had to be more than the solution of the Jewish problem; by building a society based on co-operation, the Jews should set an example for the entire world. Labor, to the pioneers, was more than a necessity; it was an ethical principle. This glorification of labor as essential for the purification of the individual and the nation was expressed best by the Jewish philosopher and writer Aaron David Gordon,¹ a Russian teacher who came to Palestine at the age of 48 and there embarked upon a life of physical labor himself. The influence of the second wave of immigration cannot be overestimated. It can be said that the spirit of those *halutzim* (pioneers), their emphasis upon labor and cooperation, and especially their strong sense of social responsibility, still pervades the entire labor movement in Palestine, and thereby the *Yishuv* (Jewish community in Palestine).

The vigor and enthusiasm of the pioneers were made practicable by the decision of the World Zionist Organization in 1907 to undertake agricultural settlement in Palestine. In the same year, Dr. Arthur Ruppin, a German-Jewish sociologist and economist, came to Palestine to study the prospects for agricultural settlement, and the following year

he became the chief administrator of the Zionist Organization's colonization activities with his appointment as director of the Palestine Office. As a scientist Ruppin was used to dealing with cold facts and figures, but he was a man of action, and he had the rare ability to "look behind the facts," to see the human beings who make the facts and to whom the facts must always be adjusted. He immediately recognized the vital force in the new national life.² It is largely due to Ruppin's daring experiments and sound judgment that the foundation of Palestinian agriculture was firmly and systematically laid.

The Zionist Organization left the settlers entirely free to organize their communities according to their own choice, but as a result of a lack of funds and of experienced land workers, and to prevent managerial disputes, settlements of a new social form were gradually established. These new settlements owe their existence to practical necessity rather than to any preconceived plan or theory. A group of prospective settlers can establish itself as a communal settlement (*kvutza*, plural *kvutzot*; or *kibbutz*, plural *kibbutzim*) or as a smallholders' village (*moshav ovdim*, plural *moshavei ovdim*). In the communal settlements, all work is performed collectively, there is no private property, all members receive according to their needs, and no money is used within the community. In the smallholders' villages, the individual settlers farm their own holdings, but they are organized on co-operative lines for the marketing of their products, the purchase of essential supplies and the provision of all communal requirements. In both the *kibbutz* and the *moshav ovdim* no hired labor is employed and no private trade is engaged in. There is actually much variation in the extent to which the settlements practice communism, and a clear distinction between the two social types cannot always be drawn.

Arthur Ruppin summarizes as follows the guiding principles which came to be accepted in the attempt to avoid the mistakes of previous periods of colonization:

1. Co-operation on the basis of mutual responsibilities.
2. A settler's wife was to receive agricultural training in order to do her share of the work on equal terms with her husband.
3. Mixed farming, including the growing of corn, fodder, vegetables and orchards, was to supplant the one-crop system. Moreover, semi-industrial undertakings were to be run by farmers wherever feasible.
4. The size and nature of the farm were to be in keeping with the working capacity of the settler and his family alone.
5. The number of families in each settlement, whether it be a *kvutza* or a *moshav ovdim*, were to be not less than sixty (in exceptional cases forty) to prevent monotony . . . and to reduce their share of the communal budget.

6. Co-operative societies were to be formed for purchase and sale.
7. The land was to be acquired through the Jewish National Fund and properly demarcated.
8. As a rule each settler was to receive either 18-25 dunams (5-7 acres) of irrigated land or 90-120 dunams (22-30 acres) of unirrigated land (in the *kvutza* one man and one woman represent a settler unit). In most cases each settler received both.^a

Technical-agricultural guiding principles were also laid down for the establishment of new settlements.

The Jewish National Fund (*Keren Kayemet Leyisrael*) was founded in 1901 for the purpose of buying land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people and to lease it to settlers. In 1920 agricultural colonization was greatly facilitated by the establishment by the Zionist Organization of the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*), one of whose main functions is to provide long term agricultural loans at low interest rates. The *Keren Hayesod* has set up the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association (PASA) and other companies which give the settlements short and intermediate term loans.

A settler can choose whether he wants to live in a communal settlement or a smallholders' village. Young people usually prefer the *kibbutz*, while older people, especially if they have a family, usually choose the *moshav ovdim* because it allows them greater privacy. Both types of communities are on an entirely voluntary basis; they are not state-controlled like the Russian *kolkhoz*. A settler is free to leave a co-operative settlement at any time.

IN THE EARLY YEARS of the cooperative agricultural movement, all communal settlements were referred to by the term *kvutzot*. As the *kvutzot* grew and expanded, however, they gradually came to be known as *kibbutzim*, which is now the general term equivalent to the English *communal settlements*. The earlier name of *kvutza* is still used for some of the older and smaller *kibbutzim*. A communal group which is not yet permanently settled is known as a *plugat avoda* (plural *plugot avoda*) or labor group. Such a group usually lives in temporary buildings and depends for its maintenance upon wages earned by its members through labor outside of the group. A successful *plugat avoda* eventually becomes a *kibbutz*. Its members also pool their incomes, which are often derived from industrial, rather than agricultural, work.

In this connection it is interesting to note the development of a new type of communal experiment in Palestine, that of the urban *kibbutz*. Such a group has recently been formed in Tel Aviv and is described by the Hon. Edwin Samuel as follows:

Its members are mostly wage and salary earners who want to set up a communal quarter somewhere on the outskirts of the town. There they

will build their own communal dining-rooms and kitchens, their living-rooms and the children's houses, developing the land for fruit and vegetable growing so that one part of the income of the group will come from agriculture, one part from industrial production in factories owned by the group, and one part from wages brought back to the group by members employed in Tel Aviv.⁴

The first communal settlement was Degania, founded in 1910 on a tract of Jewish National Fund land near the Sea of Tiberias. After a managerial dispute had occurred in the village of Kinneret, the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization decided to hand over that part of the lands which lay beyond the Jordan (the Um Juni tract) to a small group of farmers who were to work it on their own responsibility. No supervisor was appointed, but advice was given by a visiting agricultural expert. The experiment proved successful, and at the end of the one-year period of the contract, the Palestine Office wanted to hand over the land to permanent settlers.

The Romni pioneers, a group of ten men and two women from the town of Romni in the Ukraine, agreed to occupy and to work the Um Juni tract. They were staunch believers in the principle of collective responsibility, and in Kinneret and Hedera they had already lived and worked co-operatively. They had also gained experience in all branches of farming. The Romni group, under the leadership of Joseph Bussel, settled at Um Juni in 1911. The workers were held responsible for the operation of the farm. Capital investments were made by the National Fund, which received half of the net profits, the other half going to the workers, who, in addition, received a monthly wage of 50 francs. All workers ate in the common dining hall, and all expenses were shared. The efforts of the struggling pioneers were successful, and the first *kvutza* was named Degania, after the blue flower that grows among the blades of corn.

• Even before the founding of the Degania settlement, the Ninth Zionist Congress (1909) decided to experiment with co-operative colonization along the lines suggested by the well-known German-Jewish economist, Professor Franz Oppenheimer. The experiment, conducted on a large farm in Merhavia, in the valley of Esdrelon, was far from a success. It is generally agreed that Merhavia was a failure largely because Oppenheimer's idea of authoritative management was not suited to the strongly independent character of the Jewish pioneers in Palestine. Thus all further co-operative agricultural enterprises in Palestine were conducted on the lines of the successful Degania experiment.

Until 1921 the *kvutza* was the only type of co-operative agricultural settlement known in Palestine. Nahalal was the first successful smallholders' village, and its example had been followed widely by other colonies.

Since the first World War, Jewish colonization of Palestine has proceeded very rapidly. The acceleration in the rate of settlement can be seen from the following figures:

TABLE 1
NUMBER, AREA, AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL POPULATION OF JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN VARIOUS YEARS BETWEEN 1882 AND 1941

Year	Number of Settlements	Area (in dunams*)	Agricultural Population	Total Rural Population
1882	6	25,017	c. 400	480
1907	30	320,000	c.5,000	7,000
1918	43	421,000	7,500	12,000
1931	124	1,058,508	24,723	41,349
1941	263	1,607,000	72,500	145,000†

* One dunam is 1,000 square meters or a little less than ¼ acre.

† This figure includes Petach Tikva which, in recent years, has become a municipality. Petach Tikva had a population of approximately 18,000 in 1942.

Source: Ruppin, "Agricultural Achievements in Palestine," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. 5, June, 1942, p. 278. The figures for 1941 are those given by Carl Alpert, "Palestine—the Period Between the Two World Wars (1919 to 1942)," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1942), vol. 8, p. 366.

At present there are about 300 Jewish villages in Palestine. According to the Government census of September 30, 1944 (the last one for which statistics are available), Palestine's total population was 1,727,786, of which 521,564 or 30 per cent were Jews.* Fourteen per cent of the cultivated area and six per cent of the total area of Mandated Palestine are now Jewish-owned.*

The large majority of the Jewish villages in Palestine are co-operative settlements. Of these, the communal settlements are the most numerous, and their number and population have grown rapidly, as is shown in the following table:

TABLE 2
NUMBER, POPULATION AND AREA OF COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS AND SMALLHOLDERS' VILLAGES IN VARIOUS YEARS BETWEEN 1920 AND 1940

Year	Number of Villages	Total Population	Adult Population	Area (in dunams)
COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS				
1920	13	—	404	14,800
1925	22	1,850	1,444	40,000
1930	24	2,566	1,892	76,000
1935-6	40	8,948	6,548	128,000
1940	79	22,115	14,661	254,800

SMALLHOLDERS' VILLAGES

1920	6	—	160	7,200
1925	16	2,400	1,240	52,500
1930	17	3,167	1,966	64,500
1935-6	59	11,956	7,000	121,700
1940	71	14,600	7,700	164,000

Source: Audit Union of the Workers' Agricultural Cooperative Societies Ltd., *The Palestine Agricultural Economy under War Conditions* (Tel Aviv, 1944) p. 20.

This table includes only the 79 communal settlements which had definitely been settled in 1940, but not the numerous others which had not yet received land from the Jewish National Fund. If the latter group were included, the total population of the workers' settlements for the end of 1941 would be some 45,000 inhabitants.* The *kibbutzim* and *moshavi ovdim* have continued to grow rapidly in number during the Second World War. The *Handbook* states that there were 108 communal settlements at the end of 1943.*

FROM THE FIGURES ABOVE it is evident that the principle of self-labor has been firmly established in Palestine. Both the communal settlements and the smallholders' villages were determined from the very beginning not to employ hired labor, because they fully realized the fact that a national homeland can be established only if a considerable number of Jews turn to agriculture. The settlers knew that it would not be sufficient for the Jews in Palestine merely to own land and farms; they must till the soil themselves. The *kvutza*, and later the *moshav ovdim*, were well suited to the "conquest of labor" (*kibbush avoda*) movement and were conceived as perfect communities in which everyone works freely and on a basis of complete equality.

The national and the social ideals of the Palestinian pioneers were, indeed, inseparable and have continued to be so till this day. For this reason, these ideals have been a source of double strength, which has made possible heroic and almost superhuman efforts and achievements on the part of the young people who were struggling in an entirely new and strange environment. Without adequate means of their own and without training in agriculture—in fact, with nothing but unparalleled perseverance and self-sacrifice—these men and women from many countries and widely differing backgrounds faced a neglected land full of swamps and disease and dangerous hordes of Bedouins. They paid very heavily for the *kvutza* idea, but victory did come, and that was all that counted.

II. The Kibbutz As A Social Unit

THE PERMANENT POPULATION OF EACH communal settlement consists of working member and their children and elderly parents. In addition to these groups, many *kibbutzim* take in apprentice workers, especially from the Youth Aliya (the immigration of refugee children). In many cases, children from other communities live in the *kibbutz*, either to attend the school or to receive a training in agriculture. The composition of the population of the *kibbutzim* and *kvutzes* in 1940 is shown in Table 3. The working population includes all those between the ages of 17 and 45. The proportion of workers is high, especially in the newer settlements, because of the fact that the communal settlements are usually founded by young people. The dependents include elderly parents of workers, as well as former workers of the *kibbutz* who are now spending their old age there.

TABLE 3
COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF
79 COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS IN 1940

Number of Communal Settlements	Workers	Children	Dependents	Youth Aliya	Outside Children	Total
40—founded before 1936	9,377	3,654	701	1,534	291	15,557
39—founded since 1936	5,284	904	74	265	31	6,558
TOTAL (79)	14,661	4,558	775	1,799	322	22,115

Source: Gerhard Muenzner and Ernst Kahn, *Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine; the Economic Activities of the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadruth Ha'Ovdim)* (Jerusalem, 1943), p. 7.

The number of inhabitants of the communal settlements varies anywhere from about 40 to over 1,000 persons. The large majority of *kibbutzim* have a population between 100 and 400. There is even greater variation in the area of the land used by the collectives. In 1943, the smallest settlement [Ramat Rachel] occupied 160 dunams, and the largest [Tel Yosef], 12,160 dunams.¹

All able-bodied members of working age in the *kibbutz* work, and as far as possible they engage in manual labor. There is no social differentiation whatsoever between the various types of work. Women are found in all fields except the night watch and a few other tasks which are either too strenuous or too dangerous. In the early stages of the *kvutza*, work was assigned to the members by a system of rotation, so that they could learn all branches of farming. At present, however, specialists and ex-

perienced workers have steady jobs, since this is more efficient. All other workers are assigned duties weekly by the labor organizer. Everyone takes turns at household and service tasks, such as kitchen work and waiting on table. During slack seasons, some of the workers take on employment outside the *kibbutz* and the wages they thus earn, as well as the regular income from the communal farm and other communal enterprises, go into a common purse controlled by all the members of the settlement.

The outstanding feature of the *kibbutz* is the complete absence of private property; virtually all goods and services are owned and provided collectively. In the beginning, even clothes were regarded as common property, but the *kibbutzim* have realized that dress is a matter of personal taste, so that now only working clothes are public property, and even this varies from *kibbutz* to *kibbutz*. Styles are all very simple, despite individual variation.

NO MONEY IS USED in the communal settlements, and members have no pocket-money or savings. A member who receives presents, including money, turns these in. If he wants to travel on private affairs, he must apply to the *kibbutz* treasurer for money; members are usually very modest in these requests. A *kibbutz* member visiting another *kibbutz* is maintained free of charge for the duration of his stay. A member leaving the communal settlement is not entitled to any property, unless a special arrangement was made at the time he entered the settlement, and such contracts are very rare. A special provision is made in the budget of the settlements for the support of parents of members, and other dependents, who reside in Palestine or abroad.

The question naturally arises as to whether or not the absence of private property in the *kibbutzim* results in waste and inefficiency. All authorities are in agreement that this has not been a problem. The pioneers' faith that their way is the right one and that their national and social ideals are sound has apparently been so strong that it has enabled them to overcome many difficulties and resist many temptations, including those connected with private property. Pecuniary reward, which is the basis of a capitalistic economy, is replaced in the communal settlements by social reward. Here recognition by the group of the individual's devotion or achievements is the incentive to economic endeavor that in our society has been thought possible only through the institution of private property. The social consciousness and collective responsibility manifested by the members of the *kibbutz* has, indeed, been remarkable. In this respect the future is unpredictable, but no departure from fundamental collectivist principles has yet occurred.

The government of the *kibbutz* is exceedingly democratic. Supreme authority is vested in the General Assembly, a gathering of all the members of the settlement. The General Assembly meets frequently and decides all of the important issues. Everyone has one vote, and a simple majority binds all members. The General Assembly elects the Management Committee composed of three or more members for one or two years. This committee consists of at least a secretary-treasurer, a labor organizer, and a third member who deals with the external affairs relating to the Government and the neighboring Arab villages, with whom the *kibbutzim* have always attempted to maintain friendly relations. Although any working member can be elected to the Management Committee, the more experienced members are usually chosen for this office. The Management Committee is usually assisted by standing committees which deal with household management, farm management, education, health, labor, and cultural affairs. Committee members have no special privileges and take their full share of daily *kibbutz* duties. An exception is, of course, made for those engaged in full-time administrative work.

A typical *kibbutz* consists of the following essential buildings: living quarters and bathrooms; common dining-room, kitchens, laundries; children's house, kindergarten, school; dispensary, library, office; cow-sheds, dairy, chicken-runs, stables, and tractor sheds; storeroom for

produce and, in the larger villages, industrial workshops. The lay-out of a typical communal settlement is shown above.

The architecture of the *kibbutzim* tends to be standardized, since they co-operate with the Technical Department of the Jewish Agency in planning and designing the settlements.

THE MEMBERS OF THE *kibbutz* eat in a common dining-room to which large kitchens are attached. The dining-room is usually the largest building in the *kibbutz* and its social center, for it is also used for lectures, meetings and performances. When a communal settlement is first established, its members live in tents. Barracks are constructed for the dining-room, the kitchen and the children's house. Permanent concrete buildings are erected as soon as possible for children and livestock, while wooden barracks are built for living-quarters; houses are provided only later, as funds are available.

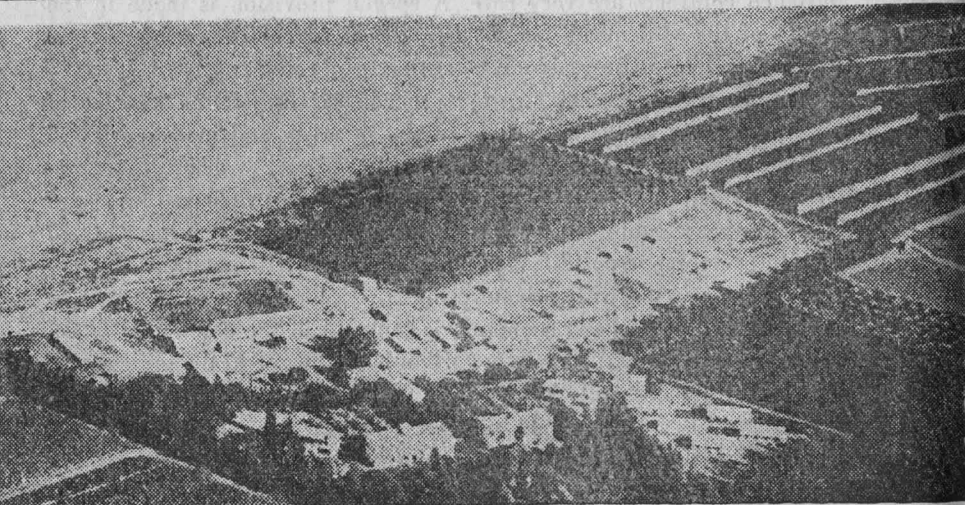
Each *kibbutz* determines for itself the size and the location of the houses. In some communal settlements there are separate buildings for married couples, unmarried men and unmarried women. Each married couple usually has one room, and three or four unmarried people share a room. Eventually, the *kibbutzim* hope to provide a private room for every member, for they realize that a person who is in close contact with many people most of the day must be able to retreat to the quiet and intimate atmosphere of his own room. There is also a tendency to favor smaller dwellings consisting of only about four rooms each, and to build the houses further apart. At present, however, housing conditions are still far from satisfactory in most communal settlements, since building does not keep pace with immigration. In the spring of 1944, nearly all the children, but only half the adults, of the 94 principal *kibbutzim* were living in concrete buildings, as the following figures show:

TABLE 4
HOUSING COMPOSITION IN THE 94 PRINCIPAL *Kibbutzim*
IN THE SPRING OF 1944

Percentage living in	Adults	Children
Concrete buildings	50	98
Wooden huts	40	2
Tents and others	10	—
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Edwin Samuel, *Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1945), p. 13.

A. BRINGS NEW LIFE TO ANCIENT LAND



Courtesy UPA

The children's houses are one of the most striking features of the *kibbutzim*, for in most of the villages the children live and sleep here, rather than with their parents. The common nursery, to which infants are brought almost immediately after birth, has been a necessity in the communal settlements, since it frees the mothers for productive work. Day-creches and day-schools, which were used in the early stages of the *kvutza*, were found undesirable, because children had to be awakened and brought to the nursery in the early morning hours, and parents often were unable to obtain an uninterrupted night's rest. Today, therefore, every *kvutza* has its children's houses. Each communal settlement determines the organization of the children's community, and the question of whether and when the children should sleep with their parents is also settled collectively. In some *kibbutzim*, such as Degania A, the children stay with their parents for the night, but in the great majority of cases they live in the children's houses until they become full members at the age of eighteen.

Originally, each woman, whether married or unmarried, took her turn in taking care of the children. Today, the specialized work is performed by trained nurses and teachers, while the unskilled work is done in rotation by all mothers and women who like the work in the children's houses. Usually about half the workers are specialized and permanent.

The hygienic standards are very high, so that, in spite of adverse climatic conditions, the infant mortality rate in the *kibbutzim* is the lowest in Palestine and among the lowest of the world.² The children's houses are well equipped and usually the first permanent buildings to be erected. Consequently, the cost of raising children in the *kibbutz* is relatively high.

The children in the communal settlements are grouped according to age, and each age-group usually has separate sleeping quarters. Whenever possible, not more than three or four children live in one room and are taken care of by one worker. The *kibbutz* generally recognizes the child's need for some measure of privacy. Children before the school age are divided into groups as follows: infants until walking-age, babies until talking age, and children of kindergarten age. From their sixth until their seventeenth year, all the children attend school.

The members of the *kibbutzim* realize that the education of their children is of utmost importance, since the ultimate success of the *kibbutz* depends on the second and third generations. It is, therefore, essential that the children be trained at an early age for responsible and democratic citizenship in a society based on labor and co-operation.

The children's community is an almost exact counterpart of the adults'. All activities, eating, sleeping, working, playing, cooking, wash-

ing, and studying, are carried on there under the direction of teachers who are usually themselves members of the *kibbutz*. The program of education aims at a balance between study and work, between the attainment of knowledge and the practical application of such knowledge. There is little formal teaching, and the "project" method, whereby related subjects are introduced in units, is generally used. The children are taught to develop skill in manual work, and it is hoped that they will love labor and realize its importance.

Usually a farm is attached to the school in which the children work and grow their own food. They begin to learn agriculture at the age of seven, and by the time they are thirteen, they usually work in the school farm a quarter of a day. This period is gradually increased until, at the age of sixteen, the children are allowed to do a full day's agricultural work. The older children also help with the general work in the *kibbutz* when the need arises. Several *kibbutzim* have established special agricultural training schools.

Some *kvutzot*, such as Degania, have central schools which serve the surrounding settlements. Some high schools, such as the one at Mishmar Haemek,³ serve all the *kibbutzim* of the same federation.⁴ In some cases, children from the towns are admitted against payment of school fees.

THE SCHOOLS IN ALL *kibbutzim* (except those affiliated with *Hapoel Hamizrachi*, a religious group) are under the supervision of the Education Committee of the General Federation of Jewish Labor. Most of the expenses are paid from the budget of the *kibbutz*. The communal settlements obtain a share of the small educational grant which the Palestine Government makes to the General Council (*Va'ad Leumi*) of the Jewish Community.

It is obvious that the role of the teacher in the *kibbutz* is of the greatest importance and that suitable teachers are consequently essential. The communal settlements, realizing that full confidence and co-operation between the educators and all members of the *kibbutz* are a first requirement for the successful education of the children, prefer the nurses and teachers to be drawn from their own membership. This, however, has not always been possible. *Kibbutz* members have been reluctant to employ outside nurses and teachers for fear that such workers would not understand the spirit of collectivism of the *kibbutz*. It is also difficult for the average teacher, who is the product of educational training of the old type, to adjust himself completely to the progressive methods that the *kibbutz* school requires. In this connection the existence of a special training school at Tel Aviv for *kibbutz* kindergarten and school teachers is significant. Another problem is that of finding a

teacher who has a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew, and who, for instance, can both interpret the Bible and give the Hebrew names of plants. For all these reasons, the communal settlements have avoided relying on the school alone for the education of the children. They believe that the entire community should participate in this task, that there should be much contact with the children, and that the adults should set the example in everything they teach them.

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP between a child and its parents in the *kibbutz* when the entire community has taken the responsibility of raising the children, and when these children do not even live with their parents? Do the children know their parents at all? Parents in the *kibbutz*, as elsewhere, love their children, and they are with them after working hours and on Saturdays and holidays. Both the children and the parents eagerly look forward to such meetings, and authorities on the communal settlements testify that the child-parent relationship is a very close and happy one.⁵ According to Shlomo Bardin, the *kibbutz* "... realizes the importance of the parental relationship for the growth of the child, and recognizes the unique position and irreplaceable contribution of the parent."⁶

Supporters of the educational system of the *kibbutz* claim that it actually improves the child-parent relationship. They point out that many parents do not know how to raise children. In the communal settlements, the children are in the hands of experts, so that the parents do not have to worry about their welfare and can, therefore, associate with them in a more pleasant relationship. Moreover, these advocates of the *kibbutz* also point out that the children of city parents who are employed in factories or offices spend most of the day alone, often without adequate supervision. Even among the well-to-do classes, they are in school or under the care of nurses most of the time. Children in the *kibbutz* are not subjected to strict discipline; their parents can meet them, and they can visit their parents, whenever they so desire.

It is impossible at present to evaluate the educational system of the communal settlements. This system is still very young and constantly undergoing changes. Relatively few children have as yet grown up in the *kibbutz*, and on the basis of this small number no valid conclusions can be drawn. The overwhelming majority of communal settlements have accepted this unique method of raising children. What changes will take place in the future it is difficult to predict, but the increasing tendency for children to live with their parents in the older and better established settlements is of the utmost significance.

The collectivist ideas of the *kibbutz* do not extend to the married life

of its members; they are monogamous and subject to the same laws of marriage and divorce that apply to the other Jews in Palestine. The functions of the family unit in the *kibbutz* are, however, very different. The economic basis of the family has been removed, for, in this respect, husband and wife are independent of each other. Socially, women are on a basis of complete equality with men. Only the mutual inclination and attachment of husband and wife constitute the basis of their marriage, and their union should be strengthened by the consciousness of a common task. Divergence of opinion on practical matters is reduced to a minimum because husband and wife usually are not engaged in the same work and see each other only at leisure time.

Statistics on the divorce rate in the *kibbutzim* are not available. According to Landshut it is low,⁷ and Shalom Wurm states that, "Whatever scientific attempts have been made seem to indicate that the number of divorces in communal life is, if not smaller, not larger than in non-communal life."⁸ The birth rate has been very low, more than two children per family being the exception.⁹ In recent years, the birth rate has increased substantially, as more *kibbutz* members have decided to stay permanently in the settlements.

There is a need for careful research and scientific study to discover what the psychological effects of changes in family function in the *kibbutz* have been on the marriage partners and on the children. Too little is also known about the effects on the marriage, divorce and birth rates.

RELIGION IS CONSIDERED a matter of personal choice in all except the orthodox *kibbutzim*. In most settlements there are special tables for those who strictly follow the Jewish dietary laws. Within the last ten years, religious *kibbutzim* have developed in which observance of dietary laws is a matter of course and study of the Law and religious practice form an integral part of the daily program. In almost all settlements, only the most necessary work is done on Saturdays and holidays. The communal settlements have gradually come to realize

... that they must create a link between past Jewish history and the present. Therefore, all holidays whose ritual and implication were deeply rooted in the life of the Jewish nation when it formerly lived in Palestine began to be revived and were clad with contemporary meaning. ... The kvutzot are far from being able to boast of overwhelming success as far as the re-evaluation of the old traditional celebrations are concerned, but a very conscious effort is being made.¹⁰

The communal settlements by no means live in cultural isolation. They all have a much used library. Each *kibbutz* subscribes to a number of newspapers and periodicals. Most have their own weekly or monthly paper, which is mimeographed or printed. The Cultural Committee of

the General Federation of Jewish Labor organizes lectures on a great variety of subjects in all the villages. The Hebrew University organizes some University extension lectures, and the British Council assists *kibbutz* members who teach English. Various theater groups, orchestras and musicians frequently tour the larger communal settlements. Some *kibbutzim* have their own dramatic groups, orchestras and choirs. Occasionally dances are organized to which inhabitants of all the neighboring Jewish villages are invited.

Attempts are made, through the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department and through other organizations, to establish and maintain friendly relations with the Arabs. The study of Arabic is encouraged in the communal settlements. Problems common to Jews and Arabs are discussed in a spirit of good-will and co-operation through the Committees for Good Neighborly Relations, which have been established all over Palestine. The exchange of visits between inhabitants of Arab and Jewish villages is encouraged, and some *kibbutzim* have built guest houses after the Arab model in which to receive their visitors.

The important question of the optimum size of the communal settlement has not yet been, and perhaps never will be, answered conclusively. Advocates of the small *kvutza* point out that it is often easier to manage, whereas the large *kibbutz* tends to have a problem of democratic representation. In the small *kvutza*, members can know each other and therefore live together amicably. Supporters of the large *kibbutz*, on the other hand, point out that deep intimacy between the settlers is not necessary for success, and they maintain that in the small *kvutza* strained relations soon spread to the entire community. They also emphasize that the large *kibbutz* is more economical and provides for a more varied cultural and spiritual life. It has, moreover, the advantage of making possible the absorption of many immigrants. According to other observers, the character of the members, rather than the size of the settlement, determines its success.

THE QUESTION IS OFTEN raised whether members of communal settlements have sufficient opportunity for individual self-expression. To this, advocates of the *kibbutz* reply that it allows the individual a higher degree of self-expression and a greater opportunity to realize his potentialities or to follow his inclinations than would be possible if he were an independent farmer. First of all, they point out, provision is made in the budget of the *kibbutz* for luxuries, so that musically talented members, for instance, will obtain the desired instruments, and books will be bought for those engaged in research. Secondly, the eco-

nomic organization of the *kibbutz* ultimately makes possible a higher standard of living and more leisure than the average independent farmer enjoys. But an advantage of the *kibbutz* even more relevant in terms of the individual and his urge for self-expression is that this social form gives him a sense of physical and psychological security which naturally results from living in a small co-operative community and a fairly homogeneous group. This is of paramount importance in a world where the machine has ruthlessly severed old community ties and where the emphasis on extreme competition and the encouragement of aggressiveness against one's fellows is a source of continuous frustration for the great majority of individuals and a denial of the very pre-conditions essential to individual self-realization.

In the matter of health we find a specific example of the ways in which the *kibbutz* provides its members with basic physical and psychological security. Each communal settlement makes monthly contributions from its budget to the Jewish Workers' Sick Fund, which operates a system of dispensaries, hospitals and sanatoria throughout Palestine. In this way, all members of the *kibbutz* are automatically members of the Sick Fund (*Kupat Holim*) and entitled to the benefits of health insurance, such as free medical care and hospitalization. When additional services are needed, they are provided from *kibbutz* funds. A *kibbutz* member who is stricken ill always knows that he need not worry about his work, for it will be performed by other members of the settlement. Moreover, he has the assurance that his wife or family will remain in the *kibbutz* and be taken care of in case he dies or is permanently incapacitated.

It is clear that the communal settlements demand a very high degree of individual adjustment and self-control from their members. Most of the settlers come from different countries and from widely varying cultural and economic environments. It is, therefore, essential that the *kibbutz* select its members carefully. An applicant for membership must serve a probation period varying in length from six months to one year. The *kibbutz* can expel an unsatisfactory member at any time, but this measure is virtually never resorted to. The force of public opinion is usually sufficiently strong to cause unsatisfactory members to resign. No institutionalized sanctions, such as courts, fines or promotions, exist in the *kibbutz*. Because they live and work so closely together, the members exercise "... permanent and automatic mutual supervision. ..."

A group of prospective settlers can usually test their mutual suitability during the delay which occurs between the time of their application for settlement to the Agricultural Department of the General Federation of Jewish Labor (which is ordinarily the intermediary between

them and the Colonization Department of the Jewish Agency) and the establishment of the *kibbutz*. Many of the settlers have received a training abroad before their immigration to Palestine, particularly if they belonged to *Hechalutz* ("The Pioneer"), an international organization especially designed for this purpose. The *Hechalutz* Organization, which is affiliated to the Labor Federation, maintains urban and rural training centers where prospective settlers form communal groups, get used to heavy physical work and learn Hebrew. Many nuclei for *kibbutzim* are thus created. Training organizations, such as *Hechalutz*, receive immigration certificates from the Jewish Agency, to which they are allotted by the Government of Palestine.

The turnover of membership was very high in the early stages of the *kvutza*, but it has been declining. The longer *kibbutz* members live in the communal settlements, the less likely are they to leave; this tendency is very marked.¹¹

The reasons for leaving the *kibbutz* vary greatly. Some people cannot make the required personal adjustment and are either unable to establish intimate contacts within the *kibbutz* or are dissatisfied with their status in the group. Others enter the *kibbutz* without conviction or change their views later. Still others cannot accustom themselves to the climate. Some members leave because they can help parents and relatives better by working in a town, or because their parents are dissatisfied with life in the *kibbutz*. Appointment of *kibbutz* members to the permanent staff of one of the labor organizations is also a fairly frequent reason for resignation, for some of the ablest leaders in Palestine are drawn from the communal settlements. There is a floating population in the communal settlements, consisting of apprentices from the Youth Movement, new immigrants who stay in the *kibbutz* until they decide what they want to do, and unemployed urban workers who are temporarily absorbed by the *kibbutz*. Despite its economic drawbacks, the high turnover has not yet been a serious problem, as the gaps have been filled by the many immigrants who are always waiting to be settled on the land.

III. The Kibbutz As An Economic Unit

FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE role of the communal settlements as producing units, it is essential first to consider the economic activities of the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine (*Histadrut Haklait shel Ha'ovdim Ha'ivrim be Eretz Yisrael*, generally referred to simply as *Histadrut*), an organization which is unique in that it has penetrated into virtually all spheres of Palestinian life. It is a union of rural, urban and white-collar workers, and its membership embraces about 80 per cent of all Jewish workers and smallholders in the country. The *Histadrut* not only performs the usual functions of a trade union but also promotes and develops agricultural settlements, housing, labor immigration, industrial training, and the like.

The *Histadrut* is organized chiefly along co-operative lines, and it conducts a great variety of enterprises which constitute the major part of the co-operative movement of the country.¹ About 65 per cent of the Jewish population of Palestine is estimated to be connected with the co-operative movement in one way or another. We have already seen that the *Histadrut* assists the communal settlements in their cultural activities and their educational programs, and that the *kibbutzim* subscribe to the union's system of health insurance. The produce of the workers' settlements is marketed through *Tnuva* ("Harvest"), the general wholesale co-operative society of the *Histadrut*, and most of the villages purchase equipment and supplies through *Hamashbir Hamerkazi* ("The Central Supplier").

Practically all the members of the *kibbutzim* are members of the General Federation of Jewish Labor through affiliation with the Jewish Agricultural Workers' Union (of which they form the backbone) and with the *Nir* ("Furrow") Company Ltd., the workers' colonizing society. The communal settlements play a very important role inside the *Histadrut*. As is pointed out in the *Handbook*, "... the 28,600 members of the *kibbutzim* exercise an influence far outweighing their numerical strength, partly due to the fact that many of the most effective leaders of the Federation are themselves members of the *kibbutzim*, and partly because the Federation, as a socialist organization, takes particular pride in the *kibbutzim* as one of the most successful of the many socialist experiments it has initiated in Palestine."²

Each communal settlement is organized as a co-operative society under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance of 1933. The written constitution of the *kibbutzim*,³ which is approved under that Ordinance, gives the settlements power to conduct business, to borrow, to sign any agreement, and generally to act as a juristic personality.

The *kibbutzim* are almost all based on mixed farming with very extensive use of machinery. Together with the smallholders' villages, they produce nearly two-thirds of the total output of cereals, vegetables, milk and eggs of the Jewish farms, and an even higher proportion of the fodder crops.⁴ In the year 1940-1941, the value of the agricultural produce of the communal settlements was approximately 1,987,000 Palestinian Pounds (LP., equal to the Pound Sterling), that of the smallholders' settlements was LP. 769,000, and that of the outside labor groups amounted to LP. 270,000, giving a total of LP. 3,026,000.⁵ The agricultural output of the *kibbutzim* was vastly expanded during the period of the Second World War. In the year 1941-1942, the last year for which figures are available, it amounted to LP. 2,105,000 and consisted of the following products:

TABLE 5
VALUE OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS OF ALL THE KIBBUTZIM
IN THE YEAR 1941-1942

Products	Value (in LP.)	Percentage of Total
Dairy	469,000	22
Field crops	430,000	21
Vegetables	387,000	18
Fruit and nurseries	283,000	13
Poultry	242,000	12
Irrigated fodder	161,000	8
Sheep	63,000	3
Fish-ponds	42,000	2
Bee-hives	28,000	1
TOTAL	2,105,000	100

Source: Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Samuel, *Handbook*, p. 30.

THE AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES turned out by the communal settlements are noted for their excellent quality. The Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies contains the following testimony to this effect:

From the point of view of the community the "Kvutza" offers all the advantages of controlled and planned mass production. It is well known in Palestine that for high quality products, unadulterated milk, pure cream and exotic vegetables and fruits one can always turn to the "Kvutzoth." There are very few other institutions in Palestine which have acquired such a reputation or which have developed specialized farming for the market to such an extent.⁶

The communal settlements have done some remarkable pioneering work in dairying, poultry husbandry and vegetable gardening.

Most *kibbutzim* receive additional income from auxiliary workshops, such as carpentry, cobbling, and locksmithing. These shops are an integral part of the settlements and are intended for their own use. In recent years, however, many *kibbutzim* have started industrial enterprises and they are now producing a regular supply for the open market in Palestine and other countries. Factories have been established for the production of jam and canned food, agricultural tools and machinery, metalwork, precision instruments, boxes, brick, and many other items. By the end of 1944, there were over 50 factories in the settlements, employing about 1,200 workers. The value of the products they turned out rose from LP. 450,000 in 1941 to LP. 700,000 in 1942 and over LP. 1,000,000 in 1943. The factories were not subsidized by national funds. Investments were expected to be written off by the end of the war.⁷ Some factories were established by two or more *kibbutzim* jointly, and in a few cases private capital was used.

By pioneering and experimenting in agriculture and industry, the settlers have shown that communal living, far from stifling the spirit of enterprise, may even encourage and strengthen it. Indeed, in the words of Muenzner⁸ and Kahn, "Paradoxical as it may sound, the Palestinian collective settlement seems to us to be much more possessed of entrepreneur mentality than is the average individual peasant; this is naturally not to be set down solely to purely economic causes, but mainly to general Zionist ideological and 'Halutz' conceptions."⁸

Communal settlements differ considerably in the extent to which they have adopted industrial enterprises. In general, the smaller *kibbutzim* derive a much higher proportion of their income from agriculture than the larger ones.⁹ Afikim and Givat Brenner, for example, derived about half of their income from industrial projects in 1941. Labor groups and newly established *kibbutzim* are usually dependent upon outside employment, often in factories for wages, and their workshops for income until they receive adequate returns from their agriculture.

The *kibbutz* factories have many advantages over the enterprises set up by private industrialists in the towns. Workers in the settlements are all part-owners of the factory and have a direct interest in its success. They live near the plant and all receive the same income from it. Rent as well as labor are relatively cheap. The *kibbutz* factory is, therefore, able to compete successfully with the urban factory.

As is pointed out by Muenzner and Kahn, the establishment of trade and industrial enterprises, if well chosen, may act as a stabilizing factor by counterbalancing the relationship between high capital investment

and small, slow turnover in agriculture. Eventually this trend may, however, result in the problem of unfair competition with existing urban private enterprises, which, unlike the workers' settlements, do not receive financial assistance from the various national institutions.¹⁰

Another serious aspect of the industrialization and commercialization of the communal settlements is evident in their increasing dependence on the urban Jewish market and the capitalistic economy. The *kibbutzim's* practice of taking on outside work either in slack seasons or generally, for the purpose of supplementing the income from their own farms, has also necessitated their conducting business according to the usual capitalistic standards.

THE COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS are grouped into three large federations which have traditionally differed in their policies regarding the size of the *kibbutzim* and the relative importance of agriculture and industry. The *Kibbutz Meuchad* ("United Group") is a federation of the larger *kibbutzim*. In 1943, of the 108 communal settlements with a total population of 28,600, 38 units with a population of 14,600 belonged to the *Kibbutz Meuchad*. The settlement of as many Jews as possible in Palestine is the primary objective of this federation, and for this reason it favors the tendency towards engaging in supplementary trades. The *Hever Hakvutzot* ("Society of Communal Groups"), on the other hand, believes that the small *kibbutz* is more successful, and its communal settlements rarely exceed 250 members. Until recently, it has emphasized the maintenance of a purely agricultural character. Twenty-eight *kibbutzim* with a total population of 5,600 were affiliated with this federation. The *Hever Hakvutzot* is regarded as the more conservative wing of *Mapai*, the Jewish Labor Party in Palestine, whereas the *Kibbutz Meuchad* is its more radical wing.

The third large federation, *Hakibbutz Ha'artzi* ("The National Group"), had a population of 7,200 distributed in 31 *kibbutzim* whose size approached that of the settlements of the *Hever Hakvutzot*, but its attitude toward industrialization is more positive than that of the latter federation. It has introduced the practice of investing in large enterprises outside of its own member settlements. The *Kibbutz Artzi* belongs to a separate political party, *Hashomer Hatzair* ("The Young Guardsman"), which is militantly socialist.

In addition to these three main federations, there are several minor ones. *Hakibbutz Hadati shel Hapoel Hamizrachi* ("The Religious Group of the Eastern Workman"), an organization of Jews who are both religious and socialist, consisted of five settlements with a population of 700 in 1943. *Hanoar Hatzioni* ("The Zionist Youth"), a federation of

General Zionists, had four *kibbutzim* with a combined population of 400. One *kibbutz* belonged to *Agudat Yisrael* ("Society of Israel"), an ultra-religious organization. A few communal settlements are not affiliated with any federation.¹¹

Close relations are maintained among the *kibbutzim* regardless of their affiliation with the federations. In recent years, several associations have been formed for the purpose of organizing certain branches of agriculture and giving its members instruction and advice on specialized questions of farming. A communal settlement sometimes gives a loan without interest to a younger *kibbutz* in the form of agricultural products either for consumption or for seed. In many cases, neighboring settlements have organized for the purpose of purchasing agricultural supplies collectively and thus obtaining a considerable reduction of prices. *Kibbutzim* have also organized on a geographical basis to negotiate loans from banks on more favorable terms than they would be able to obtain individually.

Kibbutz members usually work from eight to ten hours a day. In the summer they normally have three hours off at noon, and in the winter one hour. In 1938-1939, the last year for which statistics are available, all communal settlements spent an average of 55 per cent of the labor time on productive work and 30 per cent on domestic service, while rest, sickness, maternity, convalescence, vacation and interruption of work by heavy rain took up the remaining 15 per cent of the time. No work was done on about 100 days, of which 58 were Sabbaths and holidays. The annual vacation period accounted for an average of ten days. There were about 22 days of absence through illness and convalescence, and three days through childbirth and suckling. Professional training accounted for relatively few days, ranging from two in the oldest *kibbutzim* to four in the newest. Heavy rain causes more interruption of work in the newer *kibbutzim*, as they do not have as much alternative indoor work as the older settlements; the figures were from three to six days lost in the older *kibbutzim* and from ten to seventeen in the newer ones.¹²

DURING THE WAR, THE communal settlements have experienced a very severe manpower shortage. While production had to be greatly increased to meet wartime demands, many of their best and most experienced workers volunteered to join the British armed services. At the same time, restrictive Government policies resulted in a virtual stoppage of immigration. Moreover, farm machinery, upon which Palestinian agriculture depends heavily, could not be imported because of shipping difficulties, nor could spare parts be acquired to repair worn-out

machinery. Yet the *kibbutzim* were able to solve these perplexing problems successfully. As we have already seen, they set up machine repair shops, and later factories were built for the production of machine parts or even complete farm machinery. Settlements also lent farm machinery to one another. Administrative work and outside employment for wages were reduced to an absolute minimum. High school students and graduates worked in the *kibbutzim* for part of their summer vacation. Nevertheless, employment of outside labor by the communal settlements proved to be a necessity.

Every *kibbutz* works according to a budget drawn up each year in advance and published both in the village and in the statistical publications of the federation concerned and of the Jewish Agricultural Workers' Union. All accounts of the workers' settlements are audited and published by the Audit Union of the General Federation of Jewish Labor. The profitability of each branch of agriculture or field of endeavor is determined by a system of accounting based on the "working day." The communal settlements calculate the number of working days a member gives to each branch on the average during the year, and then the cost and income derived from these working days are compared. Detailed reports on these and other findings are published by the Audit Union. While this provides an opportunity for mutual instruction among the settlements, it does not result in a deliberate leveling process.

Estimates of the cost of settlement of the *kibbutz* vary. According to Muenzner and Kahn's calculations, the cost of settling a family of three in the 23 old settlements (founded during the period between 1910 and 1925) was LP. 777, including the cost of the land.¹³ Ruppin estimates the cost of settlement during the period between 1935 and 1938 at LP. 650-750 per family. This is somewhat less than the cost of settlement in a smallholders' village and must be compared to LP. 2,000, the cost of settling a British veteran in Australia in the period from 1919 to 1922 or of settling a European in Kenya.¹⁴ With the introduction of intensive farming and small auxiliary industrial enterprises, the cost of settlement has tended to decrease.

In almost all cases, the land on which the settlements are erected is leased from the Jewish National Fund for a period of 49 years. Starting from the fifth year after the establishment of the village, rent should be paid at the rate of two per cent of the total cost of the land plus improvements. Postponement is granted to settlements that are not able to pay. Eighty-nine *kibbutzim* were paying rent in the year 1943-1944.¹⁵ A few settlements are built on land obtained from the PICA or other agencies.

With a few exceptions, newly established *kibbutzim* operate entirely with borrowed capital, most of which is provided by the Palestine Foun-

dation Fund in the form of long term loans ranging from 10 years (in the newer *kibbutzim*) to 50 years (in the older *kibbutzim*) at a rate of interest of two per cent. Repayment is to start with the year following that in which the original investment is made in full. Repayments started in 1937 at the rate of four per cent and upwards of the original loan. In the year 1942-1943, 41 *kibbutzim* were repaying the *Keren Hayesod* a total of LP. 21,306.¹⁶

In the initial stages of the communal settlements, the settlers sustained considerable losses, partly through lack of experience and the necessity of buying equipment at inflated prices (after the First World War) and of conducting agricultural experiments, and partly through a lack of funds, which forced them to borrow at high interest rates. In recognition of these facts, the Foundation Fund, in its consolidation scheme of 1935, wrote off a part of the debts of the older settlements. In 1941 the *Keren Hayesod* had written off a total of LP. 273,213, representing 27.2 per cent of the capital it invested in the communal settlements.¹⁷

After exhausting the initial *Keren Hayesod* loan, the settlements can obtain additional agricultural credit up to 20 years at a rate of interest of four to five per cent from the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association. When the enterprise has proved profitable and the *kibbutz* has started to accumulate some capital of its own, short and intermediate term commercial loans can be obtained from various banks of the *Histadrut* and from independent banks at a higher rate of interest.

IN RECENT YEARS, THE older communal settlements have gained considerably in strength and self-support. They were estimated to have accumulated capital of their own representing 20 to 25 per cent of their investment by the middle of 1942, whereas in the year 1936, after part of the debt of the older settlements to the Foundation Fund had been written off, their own means were but 9.2 per cent of their total investment.¹⁸ In spite of this increase in capital, the *kibbutzim* have not by any means reached their saturation point. Even the best equipped among them could use means for additional improvements in the enterprise, so as to raise their standard of living, which is often not satisfactory.

In recent years, the federations of communal settlements have been able to collect taxes from member *kibbutzim*, who voluntarily contribute a certain percentage per member of their total net profits. The federations have built up funds with which they assist member *kibbutzim* in difficult circumstances, help in the establishment of new settlements, and further new branches of activities in the workers' villages. Short term loans are also given for the improvement of cultural and housing facil-

ities in member *kibbutzim* and for the establishment of industrial enterprises and workshops.

In addition to revenue from taxation, the federations receive income from central enterprises of the *kibbutzim* and capital from the sale of preferential shares to private individuals. In 1941, the *Kibbutz Meuchad* had LP. 40,417 of own means, long term loans of a total of LP. 20,045 and other loans amounting to LP. 26,280. In the same year, the federation had given credits amounting to LP. 103,000. The *Keren* (fund) *Hashomer Hatzair* had a share capital of LP. 25,170, including reserves, and loans to be settled between 1942 and 1953 totaling LP. 17,161. By 1941, it had given credits for LP. 33,600. The *Keren Hakvutzot* was making a more modest beginning. Its working capital, including payments on account of shares not yet allotted, was about LP. 5,900, and LP. 2,600 worth of loans were at its disposal. Loans it granted to different settlements amounted to LP. 4,500.¹⁹

It is estimated that by the middle of 1942 the total investment of the communal settlements amounted to LP. 4,000,000, not including the value of the Jewish National Fund land and the amounts written off by the Palestine Foundation Fund. In 1940, the last year for which complete figures are available, the total investment in all communal settlements (127 *kvutzot*, *kibbutzim* and *plugot avoda*) amounted to LP. 2,834,441, as is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6
ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE 127 COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS
AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1940

<i>Assets</i>	
Cash on hand and with banks	LP. 21,423
Shares in <i>Tnuva</i> and other institutions	83,799
Various debtors	165,547
Movable property (including livestock and machinery)	262,283
Immovable property	845,817
Plantation, irrigation, etc.	660,760
Stock and tree nurseries	543,840
Preparation of soil and advance payments	164,797
Consumption	85,775
	2,834,441
<i>Liabilities</i>	
Capital and reserves	LP. 290,040
Loans	2,114,361
Creditors and bills	430,040
	2,834,441

Source: Adapted from Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 19 and p. 33.

In this balance sheet, the item "Shares in *Tnuva* and other institutions" must be noted particularly, for it shows that the communal settlements are obliged to invest part of their small capital in central co-operative societies, such as *Tnuva*, *Hamashbir*, the Workers' Bank, and others. This investment in co-operative organizations whose commercial activities serve the communal settlements is sound, for they have been able to accumulate large reserves.²⁰

As to the liabilities, the largest proportion of the loans, or 42.3 per cent, are debts to national and semi-national institutions, such as the *Keren Hayesod*, the National Fund, the Jewish Agency and the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association. Public institutions, such as water companies, PICA, *Nir*, the Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions, the Workers' Bank, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and Barclays Bank account for 24.6 per cent. An additional 13 per cent of the loans are granted by various other funds, friends, and relatives, on reasonable terms, and the remainder are loans from private sources at a higher rate of interest. Approximately half of the loans, mainly those from the Zionist organizations, are on a long term basis.²¹

TABLE 7
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE 127 COMMUNAL SETTLEMENTS
SEPTEMBER 30, 1939—SEPTEMBER 30, 1940

<i>Income</i>	
Farm income	LP. 790,387
Workshops	327,477
Outside work	358,990
Investments	68,330
Other sources	3,817
	1,549,001
<i>Expenditure</i>	
Man labor	LP. 551,874
Workshops, outside work and sundries	172,178
Machinery and draft animals	119,502
Various branches of agriculture	332,393
Packing and transport	57,226
General expenses	37,487
Amortization	136,524
Interest	83,738
Profit	58,079
	1,549,001

Source: Adapted from Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

As the profit and loss account above indicates, the combined income from workshops and outside employment is somewhat below the income from agriculture. The amortizations vary from about 2.6 per cent on

farm buildings to 23 per cent on machines and furnishings. Amortization has tended to be too radical, and although this is a financially sound measure of caution, it has resulted in unduly high prices of *kibbutz* products.²² In 1940, the communal settlements made a net profit of LP. 58,079.

WE FINALLY ARRIVE AT the crucial and difficult question of whether or not the communal settlements are financially profitable. We have seen that the Zionist institutions helped the *kvutzot* in overcoming the initial period of experimentation, which was marked by a definite lack of economic success. At present, however, "... the great majority of the *kvutzot* are conducted on a self-sustaining basis and most of them have shown substantial operating profits since 1935."²³ This achievement is truly remarkable in the light of the difficulties with which the settlements have had to cope. Most of them have been severely hampered by a lack of funds and by the inexperience of a large proportion of their workers. Moreover, they have had to compete with Arab and foreign agriculture, and they have received hardly any aid from the Palestine Government.

The statement by N. W. Hazen, Assistant Agricultural Economist of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States, which is quoted above, may seem to be in contradiction to the fact that in the years 1937 and 1938 all the communal settlements operated at a combined loss of LP. 13,124 and LP. 32,356 respectively. We must remember, however, that these latter figures include not only the *kvutzot* and *kibbutzim* which were established on a firm basis, but also the unestablished *plugot avoda* which, waiting to be settled, were still in the earliest stages of development and sustained most of the losses. Increasing profits have been made since 1939, amounting to LP. 189,000 in the year 1941.²⁴ It must be pointed out that the financial results of the settlements in the years 1937 and 1938 were influenced by Arab riots, by the low price level and the failure of the wheat crop due to adverse weather conditions. The profits after 1939, on the other hand, were the result of falling imports and increased demand from military requirements, and other factors were the inflation of prices during the Second World War and the increased industrialization of the settlements. Until the agricultural life of Palestine has entered upon a more or less normal course, any conclusion as to the financial position and prospects of the communal settlements must necessarily be premature.

IV. Conclusion: The Success of the Kibbutz

BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO ANALYZE the success of the *kibbutz*, we must understand the fundamental reasons why the ideal of a community that strictly applies the principle "from everyone according to his ability to everyone according to his need" has been revived once more today in Russia, in Mexico, and especially in Palestine. Only in this light shall we be able to grasp the full meaning of the unique development of communal settlements in Palestine, for, in the final analysis, this experiment could not have succeeded, even thus far, if it did not satisfy certain deep-seated human needs and cravings.

All through the ages, man has longed to live in a social environment that gives him basic security, where he can share his thoughts and feelings with his friends and neighbors, who appreciate him for his qualities as an individual, and not merely for his wealth or title, and where he can prove these qualities through some rivalry and competition with others and by developing his special abilities and talents. In the modern era exaggerated and often erroneous emphasis has been put upon competition as the main or only source of progress, and upon money as the best measure of individual worth and achievement. Economic competition has inevitably penetrated virtually the entire social realm and the whole range of human relationships. Individualism has been stressed to the point where the individual is overcome with a profound sense of isolation, while he can no longer have recourse to traditional values, such as brotherly love, which he is forced to contradict at every turn in his daily living. In our present-day society, the blind forces of the machine have been allowed, in the name of superior efficiency, ruthlessly to sever community ties, especially in the cities, and cruelly to undermine all vestiges of security. Work, which formerly was a great source of joy and pride, has now, for the most part, become dull and an evil necessity, and it has but little immediate meaning to the worker beyond its being a source of much needed income. In our urban atmosphere, the very pace of life has been distorted. Economic liberalism has proved that it has neither respect nor regard for the individual soul. Small wonder that, under these circumstances, men have risen who were determined to take their fate into their own hands again and to reaffirm the intrinsic value and dignity of the individual by building a type of community based on voluntary co-operation.

An ancient people, that, giving the West its great religion and spiritual values, was for nearly two thousand years persecuted and forced to live in anguish and suffering—such a people, at the hour of its rebirth, went to Palestine to prove there that what was regarded an ideal vision

could be made a reality. The first pioneers, as representatives of this people, paved the way, with immense self-sacrifice and endurance, for many others to follow.

In 1928, a group of distinguished scientists and experts sent out by the Zionist Organization to investigate that body's agricultural settlement schemes in Palestine included the following point in the summary of major conclusions of their report:

The permanent success of colonies organized on the communistic basis is doubtful. The Commission advises the postponement of further expenditure of large sums of money in building houses and barns in accordance with plans adopted in existing communistic colonies. Plans for these improvements should be so modified as to make the buildings suitable for use by the cultivators of individual farms if and when the character of the communistic colonies is changed.¹

Elsewhere in the report, Sir John Campbell pointed out that in the expected struggle between the *moshav* and the *kvutza*, "... there can be no doubt that the moshav must win ..." and he went on to advise the Zionist agencies and organizations "... to take a formal decision that, no more kevoztot should be established."²

It has now definitely been proved that the experts were mistaken. Not only did all community types existent in Palestine in 1928 survive successfully to this day, not only was there a need for all of them, but the workers' settlements, the *kibbutzim* and *moshavei ovdim*, are now the most numerous. Today Muenzner and Kahn, in an objective study of the Jewish labor economy in Palestine, are able to state as a conclusion to their work:

Although we have expressed some doubts as to the success of the Palestinian co-operative system in the towns, we can characterize the rural co-operative system in the Histadruth sector as one of the most interesting achievements in this field, even judging by international standards. The communal settlements representing as they do a rare combination of consumer and producer co-operatives, are a unique phenomenon. Although their achievements so far do not perhaps permit a final verdict, it seems to us that the sceptical attitude of the "experts" has been widely refuted. The latter had "proved" the co-operatives to be unprofitable; they had condemned the underlying ideology as being at variance with facts, and had demanded a cessation of this dangerous experiment. Without dwelling on the social pros and cons of this institution, one must acknowledge the astonishing success in the sphere of economy which has marked its progress up to the present. A class of workers, for the most part agriculturally inexperienced, has achieved remarkable results, displaying a selflessness constantly admired even by its opponents. The so-called "ideologists" have developed amazing business qualities.³

Joseph W. Eaton, in his book on co-operative group farming, writes of the *kvutzot* and *kibbutzim*:

... in terms of their economic, cultural, educational and social achievements they probably are, relatively speaking, the most successful group farms anywhere. They are most stable and their institutions are the most democratic. Their members have great prestige in the Palestinian society because of their high degree of social idealism and the economic success of their enterprises under circumstances in which private enterprise has not succeeded.⁴

In Palestine the communal settlements still have, of course, many problems which must be solved. Their economic efficiency can certainly be increased in many respects. The disproportionately high cost of child-care, the housing shortage and the heavy debt burden are only a few of the problems which demand a solution. Undoubtedly on the whole the *kibbutz* has been successful. It is yet too early to determine whether the movement is temporary or permanent, for the great majority of *kibbutzim* are less than ten years old. In any final judgment, the communal settlements must be viewed within the framework of the total effort to build a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. It is impossible to predict whether the *kibbutzim* would disintegrate if, for any reason, the driving force of Zionism were to disappear, or if, on the other hand, the Zionist ideal were realized.

We have seen that the *kvutza* was adopted by the Zionist Organization because it avoided the mistakes of the management of the settlements founded by Baron de Rothschild. Paradoxical as it may seem, the *kvutza* appealed to the desire for independence of the Jewish middle-class immigrant. The young pioneer, facing the greatest odds in a country and an occupation that were entirely new to him, found in collective living some of the warmth and the security of the family life he had been used to abroad. Moreover, the principle of self-labor not only solved the problem of Arab competition, but also recognized the need for the development of a Jewish farming and labor class. Even more important than these considerations, however, was the fact that the Zionist Organization had very small means at its disposal before the First World War and that the *kvutza* was the cheapest method of colonization. In the words of Arthur Ruppin, "It was not a question between collective and individual settlement; it was a question of group settlement or nothing at all."⁵

The *kvutza* is "... the birthplace of the Jewish agricultural laborer in Palestine."⁶ Indeed, the greatest achievement of the communal settlements is that they succeeded in bringing about the much needed normalization of the occupational structure of the Jewish people, who for centuries have been predominantly merchants and professionals.

Mixed farming has replaced the dangerous single crop system and enabled the pioneers to obtain a varied training. Group settlement is

better than individual settlement in regions where much preliminary strenuous work is needed for soil improvement, such as drainage and the reclamation of swamps. The *kibbutz* has all the advantages of a large economic unit; specialization and division of labor make possible greater efficiency, unit costs are reduced, and, in many cases, human labor and worry are saved. Progressive, scientific agricultural methods have been adopted with great success, and through intensive farming, the settlements were able to take in additional members.

THE SUCCESS OF THE communal settlements cannot be measured by economic standards only. The *kibbutz* was never a closed sect; from the beginning, the pioneers conceived it as an instrument for the absorption of the greatest possible number of Jewish immigrants. In this respect, the collectives have been most successful, although often at the cost of economic drawbacks and personal sacrifices. During the dangerous years from 1936 to 1939, the *kibbutz* movement was the most important factor in the expansion of the Jewish community in Palestine. During the Second World War the communal settlements have not only rapidly increased in number, but have also adapted themselves admirably to increased demands and a simultaneous labor shortage. The human material of the *kibbutz*, which is to a great extent the key to its success, has up to the present been excellent.

Why then are the communal settlements now a major economic, social, political and cultural force in Palestinian life and in the Zionist movement as a whole? Why has the *kibbutz* form been actively accepted and supported by all Zionist groups, including those who have no special ideological interest in collectivist schemes, and why has it invariably inspired foreign visitors with the deepest of admiration and enthusiasm for this new way of life? Why has the bitter experience of the utopian communities in the United States during the last century not been repeated in Palestine?

The answer, no doubt, is that the *kibbutz* was never a utopian scheme. It sprang forth from the urgent needs of the settlers, those thousands of young Jewish men and women, who, unable to forget the long series of persecutions and discrimination to which their people and they themselves had been exposed for centuries, came from all corners of the earth to rebuild the Holy Land with their own labor as the home of the Jewish people and to set an example of a society based on justice for all. But the *kibbutz* also answered the real needs of an ancient neglected country that was waiting to be developed with the return of its old inhabitants, the Jews. The *kibbutz* has shown a remarkable degree

of flexibility; since the days of its inception, it has been able to adjust itself to rapidly changing circumstances and influences.

The Zionist pioneers were idealists, but their idealism was constructive and lasting because it was rooted in the fertile soil of realism. They have been called dreamers, yet the only life of which they dreamed was one in which the very distinction between idealism and realism would not exist, a life in which every act would be an act of faith based on concrete facts. The philosopher A. D. Gordon expressed this belief when he stressed the spiritual significance of labor, and he proved it by his own life in the *kibbutz* and that of hundreds of *halutzim* who, by living fully in the here and now, are experiencing and strengthening in this world the universal and eternal bond between man and man.

GLOSSARY

HALUTZ—Pioneer. Plural *halutzim*.

DUNAM—Area measurement, equal to 1000 square meters or roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ acre.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI—"The Central Supplier"—central purchasing co-operative of the agricultural labor movement.

HECHALUTZ—"The Pioneer"—an international organization (under the supervision of the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine) for training young Jewish pioneers for manual labor in Palestine.

HISTADRUT—"Organization"—the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine.

JEWISH AGENCY—The authority representing Zionists and other Jews in all matters affecting the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

KEREN HAYESOD—The Palestine Foundation Fund established in 1920, the central fund for the financing of the Jewish economy in Palestine.

KEREN KAYEMET LEYISRAEL—The Jewish National Fund established in 1901, the central organization for purchasing and nationalization of land in Palestine.

KIBBUTZ—A communal settlement. Plural *kibbutzim*.

KVUTZA—A small communal settlement. Plural *kvutzot*.

£P.—Palestine Pound, equal to the Pound Sterling.

MOSHAV OVDIM — A co-operative smallholders village. Plural *moshavei ovdim*.

NIR—"Furrow"—financing institute for medium term agricultural credit established by the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine.

PASA — Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association, extends agrarian credit.

PICA—The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association that replaced the ICA, the Jewish Colonization Association founded by Baron Hirsch, which took over in 1899 the Jewish colonies in Palestine financed by Baron Edmund de Rothschild.

PLUGAT AVODA—A Jewish communal group which has not yet been permanently settled on the land in Palestine. Plural *plugot avoda*.

TNUVA—"Harvest"—the central agricultural marketing co-operative established by the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. His main work is *Kethabe* (in Hebrew), (Tel Aviv, 1925-1928), 5 vols. For a partial English translation, see Aaron David Gordon, *Selected Essays*, translated by Frances Burnce with a biographical sketch by E. Silberschlag (New York, 1938).
2. See Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, translated by R. J. Feiwel, (London, 1926), p. 29 and pp. 44-45.
3. Arthur Ruppin, "Agricultural Achievements in Palestine," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. 5, June, 1942, pp. 271-272.
4. *Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1945), p. 2.
5. Palestine, Department of Statistics, *General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics* (Jerusalem), vol. 10, no. 2, Feb., 1945, p. 55.
6. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, *Palestine, Land of Promise*, 1st ed. (New York, 1944), p. 228.
7. Gerhard Muenzner and Ernst Kahn, *Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine; the Economic Activities of the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadruth Ha'ovdim)* (Jerusalem, 1943), pp. 7-8.
8. Samuel, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

Chapter 2

1. See Samuel, *op. cit.*, Appendix H.
2. S. Landshut, *Hakvutza: a Sociological Study of the Communal Settlements in Palestine* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem, 1944), p. 145.
3. For an excellent description of this school and the teaching methods it applies, see Hon. Edwin Samuel, *The Children's Community of the Hashomer Hatzair at Mishmar Haemek* (Mishmar Haemek, 1944).
4. See below, pp. 36-37.
5. See Avraham Ben-Shalom, *Deep Furrows; Pioneer Life in the Collective in Palestine*, translated by Frances Burnce (New York, 1937), p. 259; Sir Arthur Wauchope, "Communal Settlements in Palestine," *Jewish Frontier*, vol. 8, Oct., 1941, p. 12; and Shalom Wurm, *The Kvutza; the Structure, Problems, and Achievements of the Collective Settlements in Palestine* (New York, 1942), p. 62.
6. *Pioneer Youth in Palestine* (New York, 1932), p. 156.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 138.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 and 189.
10. Wurm, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
11. Heinrich Infeld, "Social Control in a Cooperative Society," reprinted from *Sociometry*, vol. 5, no. 3, p. 266.
12. Landshut, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

Chapter 3

1. For a discussion of the economic activities of the *Histadrut*, see Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, and for a general account of the major role the union has played in the life of the Jewish community in modern Palestine, see Abraham Revusky, *The Histadruth; A Labor Commonwealth in the Making* (New York, 1938). Cf. A. Zabarsky, *The Jewish Co-operative Movement in Palestine* (London), reprint of an article in the *International Co-operative Review*, Jan., 1944.
2. Samuel, *Handbook*, p. 26.
3. The full text of the standard constitution can be found in *ibid.*, Appendix C, pp. 61-70.
4. Audit Union of the Workers' Agricultural Cooperative Societies Ltd., *op. cit.*, p. 16.
5. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 9. This book contains the most detailed and most reliable information on the economic activities and financial position of the *kibbutzim* and has, therefore, been used as the basis for this chapter.
6. Registrar of Co-operative Societies, *Report on Developments during the Years 1921-1937* (Jerusalem, 1938), p. 80.
7. W. Grunfeld, "Kibbutz Industry," *Davar Hechalutz*, Nov., 1944, pp. 28-30.
8. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

9. See below, pp. 36-37.

10. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

11. Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Samuel, *Handbook*, p. 28.

12. Statistical Department of the Jewish Agency, quoted from Samuel, *Handbook*, pp. 22-23.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

14. Ruppin, "Agricultural Achievements in Palestine," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, vol. 5, June, 1942, pp. 276-277.

15. Samuel, *Handbook*, p. 37.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

17. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

18. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and p. 10.

19. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

20. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

21. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

22. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

23. N. W. Hazen, "Agriculture in Palestine and the Development of Jewish Colonization," *Foreign Agriculture*, vol. 1, March, 1937, p. 138.

24. Muenzner and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Chapter 4

1. *Report of the Experts Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission* (Boston, 1928), pp. 40-41.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 445.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 175.
4. *Exploring Tomorrow's Agriculture; Co-operative Group Farming—a Practical Program for Rural Rehabilitation* (New York, 1943), p. 244.
5. *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, p. 136.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

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